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ABSTRACT

Three approaches to teacher education, each of which is characterized as "developmental" are examined. The first evolved from research developed at the Research and Development Center for Teacher Education at the University of Texas at Austin, and is based on a formulation of stages teachers pass through as they gain teaching experience. Identified as "stages of concern", this approach focuses upon the teacher's progress from concern for survival, through mastery of teaching tasks, to concern about their impact on pupils' learning. The second approach, based on theories of cognitive development resulting from research at the University of Minnesota, advocates emphasizing adult development and maturity as one key to increased teacher effectiveness. Higher stages of development are seen as involving greater complexity and differentiation of function enabling the individual to cope with a greater variety of situations in teaching. The third approach, known as "a developmental style of inservice", is largely the work of practitioners. Teachers' centers offer a contemporary expression of this orientation. For each approach an analysis of recommended goals and strategies is offered, and a critique of its justification is presented. (JD)

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Research Series No. 94

A CONSUMER'S GUIDE TO TEACHER DEVELOPMENT

Sharon Feiman and Robert E. Floden

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Abstract

The term "development" has recently entered the vocabulary of teacher educators, joining the more familiar terms "education" and "training." Despite current interest in teacher development, however, no unified perspective guides research and practice. Teacher educators use the term to mean different things, and researchers study the process from different vantage points. Persons responsible for teacher education programs have reason to be confused by all this talk about teacher development. What exactly are different advocates trying to do and why? What are the reasons for believing that their recommendations will accomplish their goals? Might some of the activities undertaken in support of teacher development contribute to the realization of other goals? In this paper, we examine these questions in relation to three approaches to teacher education, each of which characterizes itself as developmental. For each approach, we provide a brief overview, an analysis of recommended goals and strategies, and a critique of their justification.

A Consumer's Guide to Teacher Development[1]

Sharon Feiman and Robert E. Floden[2]

The term "development" has recently entered the vocabulary of teacher educators, joining the more familiar terms "education" and "training." The professional literature speaks of nurturing professional growth and supporting professional development, a striking contrast to the rhetoric of competency-based training so popular just a short time ago.

Despite current interest in teacher development, however, no unified perspective guides research and practice. Teacher educators use the term to mean different things; researchers study the process from different vantage points. Programs are supposed to meet the developmental needs of teachers and be evaluated in terms of their contribution to teacher development. The problem is that various advocates have in mind different notions of teacher development and often seem unaware of alternative views.

Persons responsible for teacher education programs have reason to be confused by all this talk about teacher development. What exactly are different advocates trying to do and why? What are the

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[1]The work reported herein is sponsored by Translating Approaches to Teacher Development in Criteria for Effectiveness Project, College of Education, Michigan State University. This project is primarily funded by the National Institute of Education.

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reasons for believing that their recommendations will accomplish their goals? Might some of the activities undertaken in support of teacher development contribute to the realization of other goals?

In this paper, we examine these questions in relation to three approaches to teacher education each of which characterizes itself as "developmental" (Feiman & Floden, Note 1). The approaches can be distinguished by their associated groups of researchers and practitioners. The first grows out of the work of Frances Fuller and her colleagues at the Research and Development Center for Teacher Education at the University of Texas in Austin. The second has been elaborated mainly by faculty of the Department of Psychoeducational Studies at the University of Minnesota and by their students. The third approach is associated with a more widely dispersed group, primarily leaders of teachers' centers.

The Texas group has constructed a developmental model of teacher concerns and used it to design preservice programs and inservice applications. The Minnesota group has applied cognitive-developmental theories to the design of preservice and inservice interventions. Teachers' centers have evolved a style of inservice work that they characterize in developmental terms.

For each approach, we provide a brief overview, an analysis of recommended goals and strategies, and a critique of their justification. While goals for teacher education cannot be derived directly from developmental models, the end-states of development do influence thinking about desirable outcomes. Similarly, there is no one-to-one relationship between developmental growth and developmental treatment. Nevertheless, if something is known about how developmental

changes occur, presumably a more informed basis exists for designing appropriate interventions or creating the necessary conditions.

It is our hope that this kind of analysis can help readers determine the implications of a developmental perspective for their own professional practice.

Developmental Models Based on Stages of Concern: Fuller & Hall

The first approach grows out of Frances Fuller's formulation of stages people pass through as they gain experience in teaching. Initially, Fuller (1969) posited a two-stage model of teacher concerns based on convergences in the empirical literature and on her own clinical observations. Over a 10-year period, the model was elaborated to include three stages. The first stage is considered a survival stage: Teachers are preoccupied with their own adequacy as teachers. The second stage is considered a mastery stage: Teachers concentrate on performance, and their concerns focus on the teaching task or the situation at hand. In the third stage, teachers either settle into stable routines and resist change, or they become consequence-oriented, concerned about their impact on pupils, and open to feedback about themselves (Fuller, Parsons, & Watkins, 1974).

How do teachers move through this sequence of concerns? In an early reference, Fuller (Fuller, Peck, Bown, White & Garrard, Note 2) connects the stages of concern with Maslow's hierarchy of needs: "Early concerns can be thought of as more potent security needs and later concerns as task-oriented and self-actualizing needs which only appear after the prepotent security needs have been satisfied" (p.5). This suggests that survival concerns must be resolved before concerns

about teaching and its impact on students can emerge. While little research has been done on the factors that influence transitions through the stages, the general attitude seems to be that teachers advance through stages "with increasing professional preparation, with increasing teaching experience, with special treatment and with increasing expertise" (Fuller, Note 3).

Fuller's research was motivated by a commitment to make teacher education more relevant, more attuned to the needs that teachers themselves expressed. The objective on the Teacher Concerns Statement (a semi-structured instrument used in the early studies) states this commitment: "The purpose of this form is to discover what teachers are concerned about at different points in their careers. With this information, teacher educators can include in teacher education what teachers feel that need to know." By making the content of teacher education more congruent with teachers' concerns, Fuller believed that motivation for learning would be harnessed, and teachers would be more interested and satisfied with their professional preparation.

Gene Hall and his collaborators at Texas have adapted Fuller's stages of concern to the process of adopting innovations. Hall's work represents a major extension of Fuller's work with implications for staff development. We review it here partly to illustrate that staff development does not always involve teacher development.

According to the Concerns-Based Adoption Model, teachers follow a predictable pattern of growth in their feelings about the skill in using a new program. Seven stages of concern have been identified that describe how teachers feel about an innovation. They range from concerns about how the innovation will affect them personally to con-

cerns about how to carry out the tasks using the innovation, and finally to concerns about the impact of the innovation on pupils. The model also includes an opportunity for researchers to describe changes in teachers' behavior during implementation. Eight levels of use of an innovation have been identified. They move from non-use through mechanical and routine use to refinement, integration, and renewal.

Concerns About Impact as Goals for Teacher Education

For Fuller and Hall, the highest stage of development is characterized by concerns about the impact of teaching on students. Both researchers advocate this stage as a desirable, though not easily attainable, goal for teachers.

Teachers at Fuller's third stage are concerned about whether pupils learn what is taught, what they actually need to learn, and about the adequacy of the teacher's own contribution to student learning.

> When concerns are "mature," i.e. characteristic of experienced superior teachers, concerns seem to focus on pupil gain and self evaluation as opposed to personal gain gain and evaluations by others. The specific concerns we have observed are concern about the ability to understand pupils' capacities, to specify objectives for them, to assess their gain, to parcel out one's own contribution to pupils' difficulties and gain and to evaluate oneself in terms of pupil gain. (Fuller, 1969, p. 221)

A major goal of teacher education is to move teachers toward the stage of impact concerns. "Our objective," Fuller (Note 3) writes, "is to mature the concerns of students, that is, to move undergraduate education students from concerns about themselves toward concerns about pupils" (p. 4). Why? "Because better teaching in probably associated with concerns about pupils rather than concerns about self". (Fuller & Bown, 1975, p. 40)

Fuller seems to take the position that being a good teacher means being concerned about pupils' learning. This is certainly plausible but incomplete. Being concerned about pupils' learning may not result in their learning, nor does it guarantee that the teacher will be able to bring about such learning. Being concerned does not include the capacity to act.

There is another problem with impact concerns as a goal for teacher education. Impact concerns are so general that they include all kinds of outcomes. Presumably a teacher concerned about having his/her students master grade-level facts and skills would be considered just as mature as a teacher concerned about having students become self-motivated learners.

In Hall's work, impact concerns (How is my use of this innovation affecting my students?) are also preferable to management concerns. Hall and Loucks (1978) link impact concerns to the goals of staff developers and ultimately to pupil learning.

> Resolution of early concerns will allow teachers to develop the Impact concerns that most interest staff developers. . . The satisfaction of contributing significantly to the professional development of individual teachers, which will ultimately result in higher quality learning for children, is what all staff developers strive for. (p. 53)

This reference is problematic because it equates staff development, teacher development, and innovation adoption. Actually, it makes little sense to view innovation adoption as teacher education or to talk about innovation adoption as teacher development. Hall does not imply any major changes in teachers beyond their ability to use different materials or techniques as intended. At times, he is clearly ambivalent about whether the highest stage of concern (refo-

cusing) or the most advanced level of use (renewal) are desirable, since teachers who achieve the highest stage may radically change the innovation or seek an alternative to it. In Hall's model, the teacher is someone who adopts externally produced materials.

Strategies for Matching Content and Concerns

Both Fuller and Hall use knowledge of teacher concerns to design interventions. Their basic strategy involves matching content and concern so that teachers will be motivated to learn. Fuller also talks about arousing concerns. Both assume that early concerns must be addressed if later concerns are to emerge. However, later concerns do not simply appear when earlier ones are resolved. Neither researcher addresses the question of how to get teachers to be concerned about their impact on students.

Fuller recommends a preservice model called Personalized Teacher Education. A personalized program considers what education students want to learn and addresses questions they are asking. Fuller (1974) summarizes the implications of the teacher concerns model for preservice curriculum.

> Programs whose early content is directed to concerns about self are more likely to engage the interest of most beginning education students.... Content addressed to more mature concerns about pupils, such as methods and instructional design, must wait until later. (p. 113)

To move education students from concerns about themselves to concerns about pupils, Fuller (Note 5) believes that three conditions are necessary: Concerns must exist, they must be known, and they must be resolved. "In summary, concerns become more mature through a process involving assessment, arousal, awareness, and resolution of

concerns" (p. 6). These instructional processes occur in the context of a personal relationship between the prospective teacher and the teacher educator.

Several procedures have been designed to assess concerns. An informal clinical assessment can be made of comments stimulated by discussing the booklet, "Creating Climates for Growth." An alternative is to use the quick-scoring Teacher Concerns Checklist.

If concerns do not exist, they can be aroused. For example, teaching-related concerns can be easily aroused by teaching encounters. One of the first experiences provided in the program at Texas is a brief, videotaped teaching experience. Education students are placed in the classroom on the first day of school and required to be videotaped teaching a 15-minute lesson. This confrontation does not allay their concerns about themselves, but it certainly arouses new concerns about teaching.

Whether concerns are assessed or aroused, the data still need to be presented in a useful and focused way. This can be done through self-confrontation experiences, through conferences with instructors, and through counseling sessions. Awareness is heightened by looking at the discrepancies among various sources of information: self-report, observation, and expert opinion.

According to Fuller, awareness is a precondition for meaningful action. The education student and the teacher educator explore alternatives, choose appropriate activities, and monitor progress. Concerns about survival may be reduced by learning how to "psych out" the reward system of the school. Concerns about class control may be ameliorated through simulated practice. Feelings of dependency may be addressed through personal counseling.

The first two stages of concern (self, teaching) occupy most of the undergraduate curriculum. While it is relatively easy to arouse teaching-related concerns, the transition to impact concerns is difficult to accomplish because it involves affective changes. The teacher must give up defending him/herself and working for approval to attend to his/her pupils. Fuller considers this the most important professional gain the teacher ever makes but cannot say how it comes about. Sometimes she expresses the view that "special kinds of teacher training seem likely to arouse higher level concerns at least temporarily" (Note 4, p. 43). Other times she admits that how teachers "come to have concerns about their pupils and how they implement this concern in their teaching remains a mystery" (Note 5, p. 83-84).

Hall adopts Fuller's general strategy of matching the content of the intervention to the concerns of teachers. For example, in one effort to help a large school district implement a new science curriculum, the stages of concern of the Concerns-Based Adoption Model formed the basis for implementing the plan.

> Early stages of Awareness, Information and Personal concerns, known to be dominant in the beginning of any change effort, were attended to in small, close-knit meetings. Management concerns, known to emerge during first use, were addressed in the inservice sessions. Because higher stages of concern are known to emerge only with experience and time, *if they do*, a few activities in the implementation were targeted at these concerns (Loucks & Melle, Note 6, p. 24, emphasis added).

The plan rested on two assumptions taken from Fuller: (1) that individuals are motivated to learn what concerns them most at a given point in time and (2) that early concerns must be resolved before later ones can emerge. By the end of the implementation

phase, informational, personal, and management concerns were supposed to be resolved so that concerns about students could dominate science instruction.

Two years after the inservice program began, most teachers had not reached impact concerns, a finding consistent with other concerns-based implementation studies. This raises the following question: What does stimulate impact or consequence concerns in teachers? An explanation (Hall, Loucks, Rutherford, & Newlove, 1975) of how this transition takes place is vague.

> With continued use, management becomes routine and the (teacher) is able to direct more effort toward increased effectivenss for the learners and integrate what (s)he is doing with what others are doing. Obviously, these advanced levels of use are not attained merely by use of the innovation through several cycles. Experience is necessary but not sufficient to insure that a given individual will develop high-quality use of an innovation (p. 52).

Without a clearer account of what facilitates or produces movement to higher stages, it is difficult to design innovations. A strict matching strategy seems to work at the early stages, but it does not seem powerful enough to arouse higher stage concerns. What else besides experience is needed? Is it possible that by matching the content of the intervention to the teachers' present concerns, the very changes one is trying to bring about are inhibited? It makes sense to diagnose teachers' concerns and take them into account in designing interventions. But if the goal is teacher development not just innovation adoption, something else is needed. The assumption that earlier concerns must be resolved before later ones can emerge tends to confuse motivation and readiness. Just because management concerns are stronger, it does not follow that teachers are incapable of

thinking about impact.

Applying Cognitive-Developmental Theories to Teacher Education

Norman Sprinthall and his students in the Department of Psychoeducational Studies at the University of Minnesota advocate a different approach to teacher education, one based on theories of cognitive development. They consider teacher development a form of adult development and effective teaching a function of higher stages of development. The cognitive-developmental framework provides them with goals for both preservice and inservice programs and gives some direction to an instructional model called Deliberate Psychological Education.

Cognitive-developmental theories rest on the assumption that human development results from changes in the organization of a person's thinking, changes that represent new ways of looking at some aspect of the world. According to these theories, each major structural change signals the transition to a different stage of development. Higher stages of development are seen as involving greater complexity and differentiation of function enabling the individual to cope with a greater variety of situations.

"Cognitive-developmental stage theories, Oja (Note 7) argues, "have strong implications for adult development within teacher education programs." The arguments rest on a presumed relationship between higher stages of development and more effective teaching. The work of Harvey, Hunt, and Schroeder (1961) is often cited to support the hypothesis that teachers at higher conceptual levels are

more flexible, tolerant of stress, adaptive, and creative. Characteristics of higher conceptual levels (an indirect style, the ability to use a variety of methods, and the capacity to empathize with students and to foster their development) are incorporated into the definition of effective teaching.

Psychological Maturity as a Goal for Teacher Education

Advocates of this second approach take their goals mainly from developmental theories. Witherell and Erickson (1978), for example, posit a set of goals for teachers and their students based on Loevinger's theory of ego development.

> Because the more advanced stages of ego development are characterized by increased flexibility, differentiation of feelings, respect for individuality, tolerance for conflict and ambiguity, the cherishing of of interpersonal ties and a broader social perspective, advancement in ego development would appear to stand on its own as educationally desirable for both teachers and students. (p. 232)

All the Minnesota teacher intervention studies deliberately try to promote development to higher levels of ego, moral, and conceptual development as defined by Loevinger, Kohlberg, and Hunt. Glassberg (Note 8) designed a curriculum in peer supervision for student teachers. The success of the program was largely determined by developmental stage changes as measured by the Loevinger's Sentence Completion Test, a test of ego development. Oja (Note 7) designed an inservice intervention to promote adult development within a professional framework. Her programmatic goals were "to deliberately promote ego maturity, more complex moral reasoning and conceptual complexity on the part of inservice teachers" (p. 31).

To justify this approach to goal-setting, Sprinthall (Note 9) argues that a description of how adults develop can provide a prescription for how teachers ought to develop. "If we have good reason to believe that more mature and higher stage adults can function more complexly, then let's induce, stimulate, exhort, cajole, nurture and promote growth" (p. 282). He cites various studies linking effective adult performance to developmental stages and also refers to Dewey's conception of "education as growth" for support.

This argument from theories of adult development to goals for teacher education contains a logical error. Knowing what development is like does not automatically tell us what goals educators should adopt. The desirability of higher stages as goals for teacher education must be argued on other grounds.

Despite the claim of some developmentalists, the qualities associated with higher stages are not universally acceptable. Certainly the schools do not reward or reinforce teacher autonomy or creativity. Moreover there is a growing body of research on teaching that connects teacher effectiveness with a direct instructional model (Berliner & Rosenshine, 1977).

Citing empirical studies that relate general adult effectiveness to higher stages of development is not enough. Maturity as defined by Kohlberg or Loevinger or Hunt may be a necessary but not sufficient condition for being effective in the classroom. Being a mature adult does not automatically make one a good teacher. One could argue that goals for teacher education should relate in some way to the teacher

in the role of professional and that the desirability of those goals should be defended by some reference to teaching and learning. Surely one could defend the goals of empathy and flexibility on grounds independent of their association with developmental theories. Actually, descriptions of particular interventions are directed toward more than the promotion of growth toward higher stages, despite the fact that programs are defended and success is measured largely in those terms.

Deliberate Psychological Education: A Strategy for Promoting Teacher Development

If advocates of this approach seem confident of their goals, they readily acknowledge the difficulty of achieving them. Still, they believe it may be possible to intervene directly to move teachers to higher, more adequate stages. The necessary conditions for this upward shift include action and reflection, support and challenge.

These conditions are incorporated into a model of deliberate psychological education that has four elements: a seminar approach with practicum experience, significant social role-taking, on-going supervision, and provision for support during times of disequilibrium. We will summarize the justification given for each element.

Behind the seminar with practicum format is Dewey's notion that learning comes about through a combination of action and reflection. Experience alone does not promote growth. People must also learn from their experiences. Clinical work at Minnesota suggests that most people must be taught how to think systematically about what happens to them. Often teachers are asked to keep journals and given a set of questions to guide their thinking. Teaching people to examine their experience from various perspectives is,

in Sprinthall's words, "at least co-equal to real experience as a growth stimulus" (Note 9, p. 288).

"Growth toward more complex levels of cognitive-developmental functioning appears to be most influenced by placing persons in significant role-taking experiences," says Sprinthall (Note 9, p. 287). In a developmental program, teachers may experience such new roles as peer supervisor, counselor, indirect teacher, active listener, and organizer of individualized instruction. The assumption is that once they experience and reflect on these new learning situations, they will recognize the need to broaden their role from the traditional one of information giver.

Piaget's concept of equilibration is invoked to explain how a person integrates new learning and new experiences and advances to a higher stage of development. Sprinthall and Sprinthall (1974) describe equilibration as cognitive conflict resolution. Experiences such as role-taking reveal inadequacies in old assumptions and patterns of thinking. In order to resolve and reconcile the conflict, a person "equilibrates," resulting in new, more adequate patterns of thinking.

Because developmental growth means giving up old and familiar ways, it can generate considerable anxiety and frustration. Personal support is considered essential during periods of transition.

> A developmental approach based on the concept of disequilibrium does not assume that growth will unfold automatically ...nor that it can be prodded...A person needs both a more challenging and strengthening learning task and major personal support for the requisite risktaking (Oja, Note 7, p. 101).

A number of intervention studies with preservice and inservice teachers have been designed around the Deliberate Psychological Education (DPE) model (Bernier, Note 10; Glassberg, Note 8; Oja,

Note 7). The DPE program calls for "teaching teachers a different style of teaching" that deliberately promotes psychological growth in their students. A brief description of one inservice effort will convey the flavor of this approach.

Oja (Note 7) designed a summer workshop and fall practicum for experienced elementary and secondary teachers. The summer curriculum consisted of large group lectures on cognitive-developmental theories and small group sessions on communication and group process skills. The lectures were intended to provide teachers with a framework for empathizing with children and adolescents at different stages of development. The skills training and practice were supposed to increase teachers' responsiveness to students and colleagues. In addition, teachers planned three mini-units that would allow them to try out new roles in their classrooms (indirect teacher, supportive counselor, supervisor, group facilitator). During the fall, they taught their mini-units under supervision and met weekly in small discussion groups. The goal was to help teachers develop alternative teaching behaviors consistent with newer cognitive structures learned through theory sessions and skill practice.

Results from the intervention studies with preservice and inservice teachers were mixed. Effects of the interventions were measured using changes on three instruments, Loevinger's test of ego development, Hunt's test of conceptual level and Rest's test of moral judgement. Oja (Note 7) summarizes the outcomes of her study as follows:

> Although this intervention was successful in promoting psychological stage growth in conceptual complexity and principled moral/ethical reasoning...it was unable to encourage ego development out of the fairly rigid, achievement-oriented, conscientious levels toward the

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> more flexible, interpersonally oriented, autonomous stages. The shift from traditional teacher role to a 'developmental education' role within the classroom seems not to have been powerful enough. (p. 213)

Still, when teachers were asked to reflect in their journals on changes in their professional or personal lives during the six-month intervention, the most frequently mentioned topic was "changes in teacher role." For all the talk about promoting stage advancement, this highly prescriptive intervention seems mainly directed toward changing how teachers think about and relate to students. The culminating activity involves integrating a body of theoretical knowledge and a set of skills into a particular teaching style. Whether this requires a change in cognitive structure remains open to question. Perhaps the effectiveness of the teaching methods involved (didactic lectures, skills training, guided reflection, practical application) are independent of the teacher's developmental status.

One problem with trying to base teacher education practices on cognitive-developmental theories is that the theories are vague exactly where teacher educators need clarity and direction (Kuhn, 1979). How do developmental changes occur? According to one interpretation, changes occur when an individual is confronted with activities at a slightly more advanced structural level than his existing one. According to a second interpretation, changes result from the disequilibrium created by lower stage functioning, not the stimulation of higher stage external models.

The Minnesota training studies seem to invoke the first interpretation. "If we know the qualities of the next stage of growth,"

Erickson and Eberhardy write (1978), "we can match or 'constructively mismatch' curriculum experiences to help persons organize concepts at the next higher stage" (p.21). But there is no explanation of why particular experiences were deliberately chosen for a particular teacher, beyond the general concern for balancing challenge and support. If, as Kuhn (1979) suggests, "the question of how intellectual development occurs is intricately connected to the question how a teacher might optimally intervene in this process" (p. 353), the theories do not give teacher educators much guidance. Perhaps more careful study of actual changes in the inservice setting (like Deliberate Psychological Programs) will provide more guidance.

A Developmental Style of Inservice

The third approach, which Devaney (Note 11) calls "a developmental style of inservice," is largely the work of practitioners, not researchers. This style of working with teachers is informed by a view about professional learning that draws support from many practical and theoretical sources--Dewey and Piaget, progressive education, the British infant school, and curriculum projects that stress "active learning." Advocates also look at teacher growth in terms of stages of development. Teachers' centers and advisory services[3] offer a contemporary expression of this orientation, but there are also historic parallels, for example, in teacher workshops popular in the 30's and 40"s (Richey, 1957).

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[3]We refer to several dozen centers that have been in existence for five to 10 years and that share a common orientation though they may differ in many ways.

Underlying this approach is "a view of children's and adults' learning as mental growth spurred from within" (Devaney, Note 11). Practice is governed by the inner potential of the learner, stimulated and supported by appropriate external conditions. "The teacher learns in much the same way as the child learns," writes Kristin Field (Note 12) of the Brookline Teacher Center, "through active manipulation and participation in her environment" (p. 26).

Devaney (Note 13) characterizes the essence of a teachers' center as "convincing the learner of his potential and responsibility for growth" (p. 25). Lillian Weber (Note 14), director of the Workshop Center for Open Education, underscores this basic faith in each teacher's capacity:

> In our interactions with teachers we presupposed that teachers could be intelligent observers and decision-makers. This assumption, that the individual teacher possesses strengths and possibilities, is the basis of our work. (p. 1)

Complementing this view of the learner is a view of the teacher educator as a careful observer, looking for signs of readiness and interest. What distinguishes teachers' centers from conventional in-service programs is their responsiveness to teachers' self-defined needs and their reliance on intrinsic motivation as an incentive to participate. Responsiveness also characterizes the work of advisors who help teachers in their schools. Formerly classroom teachers, advisors view their job as "stimulating, supporting, and extending a teacher in her own directions of growth" (Devaney, Note 15, p. 151).

Some advisors have characterized teacher growth in terms of stages of development. Unlike the developmental models and theories that characterize the first and second approaches, the stage descriptions associated with this third approach are directly linked to goals

and strategies. Based on her work with teachers, Apelman (Note 16) identifies three overlapping stages, each requiring a different kind of help. Her formulation parallels an earlier description of "stages of teacher growth toward professional maturity" by Lucy Sprague Mitchel (1950), founder of Bank Street College. Mitchel describes changes in teachers' attitudes toward their work in relation to a workshop that Bank Street conducted in several New York public schools during the 40's to help teachers implement a new, activities-based curriculum.

The clearest and most fully developed example of a stage description is provided by Kristin Field (Note 12), who describes three stages in the development of teachers based on her own experience as an elementary teacher and on interviews with other teachers. The stages are described in terms of the following dimensions: planning the day, arranging the classroom, planning for large groups, diagnosis, record-keeping, parent conferences, unstructured time, transitions, behavior of children, self-evaluation, and self concept. The descriptions include changes in skills as well as perceptions.

Stage 1 is characterized by day-to-day survival, hit-or-miss solutions to problems, and intense feelings of inadequacy. During Stage 2, increased self-confidence encourages feelings of self-worth, and success provides some appropriate and reliable solutions to problems. The Stage 2 teacher has extended planning from one day at a time to weeks in advance. At Stage 3, learning is viewed as a whole process, not something to be divided into subjects or blocks of time. Only Stage 3 teachers feel at home in the classroom and acknowledge the children as people, not just pupils.

Field also describes the kind of non-evaluative supervision appropriate to each stage of development. The extreme insecurity of the Stage 1 teacher calls for intensive support and extensive help in the classroom. The Stage 2 teacher does not need the intensive support and can profit from observing other classrooms and attending curriculum workshops. Still, the supervisor needs to see the teacher's classroom in action. Only Stage 3 teachers can benefit from isolated contacts with specialists. Stage 3 teachers are also ready to work with teachers at Stages 2 and 1 and can gain much from the role of teacher educator.

The early stages in these descriptions resemble Fuller's stages of concern. The similarity is not surprising, since even experienced teachers undertaking a new approach in their work can feel like beginners, uncertain of their abilities and preoccupied with practical matters. The differences emerge in the third stage when the theoretical/ideological orientation of teachers' centers and advisories suggests the desirability of particular impact concerns. The second and third approaches overlap at this point; certain characteristics of higher stages of psychological development (empathy, autonomy) fit the description of Stage 3 teachers.

Goals for Teacher Development: Process and Outcomes

Peters (1968) makes a distinction between goals that are appropriately formulated as objectives and goals that do not describe the outcomes of teaching/learning activities but rather the manner in which they should be carried out. The third approach to teacher development has both outcome and process goals.

For Apelman, Mitchel, and Field, the end-state of development is a teacher who takes a major role in curricular decision-making. Apelman views advising as a way of helping the teacher take final responsibility for the curriculum. According to Mitchel, the mature teacher can use his/her knowledge of children and subject matter to build curriculum. Field describes the Stage 3 teacher as someone who knows how to extend and develop children's ideas, who creates a responsive and diversified classroom, and who involves children in planning. This fits with the desired outcome of advisory programs according to Bussis, Chittenden, and Amarel (1976) who studied teachers' perceptions of advisory support: "Despite their different strategies and logistics, all the advisory services shared the goal of helping teachers assume a more thoughtful and active role in influencing the educational environment" (p. 157). They also found that advisors were most salient to teachers who shared their philosophical and theoretical orientation.

This orientation includes a particular view of children: how they learn and the kind of classroom environment that can best support their learning. While the Stage 3 teacher has impact concerns, Fuller's category is too broad to capture the kinds of learning priorities that characterize teacher maturity according to this approach. Whole class teaching with a major emphasis on the three R's would probably not fit, since the end-state seems to require the teacher to individualize instruction and to provide many opportunities for children to make choices and pursue their interests.

The process goals also reflect the underlying view of learning and the conditions necessary to support it. Teachers' centers strive to be responsive to teachers' own definitions of their learning needs,

to support teachers in their own directions of growth, and to build on teachers' motivation to take curricular responsibility. These statements do not describe the outcomes of professional learning activities but rather the manner in which they should be carried out. Sometimes these process goals are used as criteria for judging program effectiveness. The expectation that desired changes in teachers will follow may not always be justified.

Supporting Teacher Development: Conditions and Strategies

Devaney (Note 13) names four conditions that summarize what practitioners believe teachers need in order to develop and what centers try to provide--warmth, concreteness, time, and thought. By warmth, Devaney means a responsive, non-judgmental setting that promotes sharing, a sense of community, and support for the risks of change. "Thought" means increased understanding of children and the subject matter that is required for curricular decision-making. "Concrete" refers to the hands-on, real-life curricular material that teachers explore and construct in center workshops. It also implies focus on the specific and particular elements of teacher's work. Change takes time, and centers structure activities to give teachers time to discover their needs and those of their students.

Two of the four conditions, warmth and thought, echo the requirements of support and reflection in Sprinthall's prescription. The contrast between concreteness and role-taking may say something about the different origins of the second and third approach. Role-taking is justified on theoretical grounds. Supposedly it creates the necessary disequilibrium for moving to a higher stage of development. On

the other hand, an appreciation for concreteness reflects a real feeling for the fact that teachers deal with specific children, have specific problems, work in specific classrooms. Advocates of the third approach may be weak on research, but they have considerable practical experience. The success of their methods may or may not depend on the adoption of the underlying theoretical/ideological orientation.

Different strategies give differential emphasis to Devaney's conditions. According to Devaney (Note 11), "developmental" centers try to meet the immediate needs of teachers without losing sight of long-term goals.

> Developmental based teachers' centers attend to teachers' expressions of immediate need for games, activities cards, and other embellishments for the classroom.... But they also work to eventually engage the teacher in challenging study, at an adult level, of new subject matter and children's learning. (p. 3)

Behind the various strategies associated with this third approach (make-and-take workshops, advisory work, seminars, and institutes) is the assumption that teachers need to experience first-hand the conditions and learning opportunities that they, in turn, should provide for their students. This focus on process tends to obscure the end results.

Workshops in which teachers explore and construct materials are a staple for many centers. The materials may address an immediate classroom problem or they may introduce teachers to new ways of thinking about learning or subject matter. Whether this activity becomes an end in itself or a step in a learning process may depend on the extent to which it is, as Devaney puts it, "minds-on as well as hands-on."

Classroom advising offers on-going support to teachers trying to create more responsive classrooms. Often advisors work with children in the classroom alongside the teacher. One advisor describes

the intent of her modeling in this way:

> I am not giving a demonstration lesson.... The "how-to" aspects are played down. The focus is on how particular children learn and respond rather than on how I am teaching. (quoted in Thomas, Note 17, p. 8)

There is, of course, no guarantee that the teacher will observe the modeling in that spirit since teachers perceive the same advising behavior in different ways (Bussis, Chittenden, & Amarel, 1976).

Seminars and institutes engage teachers in study at an adult level and then invite reflection on the experience. For example, the Summer Institute at the Workshop Center for Open Education helps teachers experience their own learning and, by analogy, gain insight into children's learning:

> The Summer Institute, with its three uninterrupted weeks of focus by the same participants, is part and parcel of our effort to foster active learning and to create an ambience that encourages such learning...there is time to stay with a material previously known only in a surface way and to begin to uncover the workings of a point only known by rote...Teachers invest these beginnings with great importance and themselves make analogies to children's learning (Weber, Note 14, p. 3).

Weber (Note 18) tells how one participant spent four hours trying to wire a bell so that it would ring and then shared her insight: "I knew all the laws of physics and I didn't have a clue as to how the thing really worked.... I see the difference between verbal, rote understanding and genuine 'how it works' understanding" (p. 6). Weber claims that unless teachers experience this kind of sustained learning, they cannot plan for it or believe in it for children. Both the experience and the accompanying insight seem like a necessary but hardly sufficient

condition for creating an "active learning environment" in the classroom.

All these strategies emphasize self-directed learning. One problem with this emphasis is that the teacher or teacher educator may not be willing to support every direction that learning takes. The fact is some teachers come to centers to stockpile materials and some institute participants choose safe activities that will not arouse undue anxiety. This calls into question the assumption that whatever grows out of self-chosen activities is worthwhile.

Related to this is a tendency by advocates of this third approach to obscure their value preferences or to give the impression that they are "natural." Self-directed learning is linked with the ideal of autonomy. What are the reasons for believing that the exercise of professional autonomy will result in the kind of classroom or teaching associated with descriptions of the highest stage of teacher development? Perhaps this is a self-selection process as much as a developmental one, whereby teachers predisposed to a certain way of working find professional support to help them realize their teaching ideal.

Conclusions

Before drawing some specific conclusions about a developmental approach in teacher education, two general points are in order. By now it should be clear that many staff development activities may not be very developmental. At least, they don't look like the activities described in this paper. This is not intended as a criticism of staff development per se but rather as a reminder that the term covers a

broad range of activities. More to the point, the meaning of development varies. There is no such thing as *the* developmental approach in teacher education. The existence of three approaches reviewed in this paper attests to that fact. To say one is taking a developmental approach also leaves room for considerable variation.

This paper is organized around a set of questions that can be asked about any description of someone else's practice. One question concerns the reasons for trying to promote teacher development. There is a difference between the ends of development and the goals of a developmental approach in teacher education. Theories don't have goals, people do. The reason for trying to promote a particular version of teacher development depends on whether one values the goals associated with that conception. In other words, one has to decide whether empathy or impact concerns or teacher autonomy are desirable characteristics of the mature professional, independent of whether they occur in descriptions of changes in teachers.

Even if one does not want to adopt the ends of development as formulated by a particular model or theory, the stage descriptions may be helpful in thinking about how to work with teachers. Knowing that personal concerns about self-adequacy precede concerns about the tasks of teaching should aid educators in planning appropriate activities. Remembering that teachers can and do change gives us a perspective for looking at their current status.

There may also be worthwhile strategies to adopt independent of their developmental justification. Helping teachers reflect on their experiences and providing support during times of change may be effec-

tive practices regardless of the developmental status of the learner. Paying attention to what teachers are motivated to learn also makes good sense. These are examples of good teaching whether or not they promote teacher development.

Finally, the shift to teacher development may be seen as a reaction to certain conventional practices in teacher education. Just as the child-centered movement was partly a response to previous authoritarian patterns in education, the change to a developmental perspective in teacher education may be partly a response to the treatment of teachers as passive recipients of professional knowledge and the denial of individual differences among teachers. Traditionally, teacher education programs at both the preservice and inservice levels have assumed that what teachers think they need can be ignored. Despite their differences, all the developmental approaches reviewed here pay attention to where teachers are to determine the appropriate starting point for learning. Furthermore, they recognize that teachers do not constitute a homogeneous group and that meaningful teacher education must be individualized.

There are real limitations to conventional practice in teacher education. Advocates of developmental approaches highlight alternative assumptions and suggest more appropriate ways of working with teachers. In our enthusiasm for these correctives, we should not turn their approaches into panaceas.

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